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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the research and theories on ethnic identity development, and draws some implications from these ideas for improving curriculum design for, and instructional effectiveness with, ethnically different students, especially Black Americans. The paradigm of "the developmental stages of ethnic identity transformation" presented relies heavily on the research of Charles Thomas, William Cross, and James Banks, all of whom have developed different, though interrelated, typologies of this transformational process. The paradigm proposes how and why ethnic identity development should be included in the diagnostic profiles of students, along with mental, moral, emotional, psychological, and physiological development. The paper argues that this inclusion will ensure more diagnostic comprehensiveness and accuracy, and will help educators to better address the principle of "readiness" in curricular and instructional planning, thereby improving the overall quality of educational decision-making for, and service to, ethnic minority students. (Author/KH)

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"STAGES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING"

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the research and theories on ethnic identity development, and draws some implications from these ideas for improving curriculum design for and instructional effectiveness with ethnically different students, especially Black Americans. The paradigm of "the developmental stages of ethnic identity transformation" presented relies heavily on the research of Charles Thomas, William Cross, and James Banks, all of whom have developed different, though interrelated, typologies of this transformational process. It proposes how and why ethnic identity development should be included in the diagnostic profiles of students, along with mental, moral, emotional, psychological, and physiological development. The paper argues that this inclusion will ensure more diagnostic comprehensiveness and accuracy, and will help educators to better address the principle of "readiness" in curricular and instructional planning, thereby improving the overall quality of educational decision-making for and service to ethnic minority students.

"STAGES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT:
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Many different ideologies, theories and techniques are employed to assess students readiness for learning. Rare is the teacher who does not use some principles of Piaget's stages of cognitive development, and Bloom's taxamony of the cognitive domain of learning for selecting instructional content, objectives, and activities. Likewise, some aspects of Kohlberg's theory of moral development, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, and Havighurst's developmental tasks of adolescence are employed by most educators in their curriculum decision making processes.

A more recent, but less familiar, theory of another dimension of human development which has profound implications for educating Blacks and other ethnically different youth is stages of ethnic identity formation. Increasingly, researches in the sociology, anthropology, aesthetics, and psychology of ethnic groups affirm the saliency of ethnicity in shaping human attitudes, values, and behaviors. Demands that ethnic pluralism and multicultural education become fundamental components of the schooling enterprise continue to be heard. Both practitioners and theoreticians are searching for more effective and systematic ways to make better decisions about when to teach what, and to whom, about ethnic pluralism. It is becoming increasingly clear that traditional paradigms or models about curriculum development and classroom instruction are not sufficient to maximize the quality and effectiveness of educational opportunities availed to Blacks and other ethnic minority youth. The factor of ethnicity must be included in these decision making processes, for it promises to open new avenues for exploration into the question of how to improve the quality of

educational services delivered to ethnic and racial minority youth. It offers much promise for determining a more appropriate scope and sequence for both teaching about ethnic pluralism, as well as teaching ethnic youth, in varied school-community contexts. Some basic understandings of the fundamental features of the processes of ethnic identification, and their implications for improving educational experiences of ethnic youth, are essential if the overall quality of their schooling is to be maximized.

In the last twenty years several attempts have been made to devise conceptual models of the processes of ethnic identification and cultural consciousness development. Most were initially conceived in the heat of the Black cultural consciousness movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some of them are quite sketchy and tentative, and convey only the barest outlines of a developmental pattern in the formation of a positive ethnic identity. Others are more systematic and definitive in that stages of identification development are identified and characterized, and interrelationships among the stages are established. The ideas offered by Wallace (1956; 1970), Noel (1964), Glaser (1964). Gordon (1970), Sherif and Sherif (1970), and Gay (1978) fall into the first category. The models suggested by Thomas (1970; 1971), Cross (1971a; 1971b; 1976; 1978) and Banks (1977; 1981) constitute the second category.

Most of the more definitive models have been constructed out of the Black American experience, and stem primarily from the discipline of psychology. However, preliminary and implicit suggestions of stage paradigms to account for the transformation of individual ethnic identity within the context of social change can be derived from studies of political (Gordon, 1971) and cultural (Wallace, 1956; 1970) movements outside the American

scene. These ideas are included in this discussion because they provide some general principles about psychological changes which have been incorporated into the conceptual structures of subsequent models of ethnic identification development and cultural consciousness among Black Americans.

Four major premises can be derived from existing theories of and research on ethnic identification development. First, positive ethnic identification for most American ethnic minorities does not happen automatically nor does it happen for all individuals. When it does happen it is learned, and is, therefore, susceptable to instructional intervention. Its occurrence is signalled by a psychological metamorphasis expressed in an individual's personal attitudes, values, and behaviors, as well as his or her referent group orientations. Second, the psychological well-being and socio-personal functionality of ethnic minorities are contingent upon this rebirth or resynthesization of ethnic identity. Part of this rebirth is the replacement of feelings of ethnic shame, denial and denignation with pride, positivism, acceptance. As individuals move through the transformation or re-identification process, they become more self-assured about their own ethnicity, and more embracing toward the ethnicity of others. Thus, the ethnic identification process is a kind of psychological liberation. Third, the reformation of ethnic identification is a progressional process which occurs in stages and evolves from self ethnic denigration toward positivism. Fourth, a dialectical interaction exists between the personal processes of ethnic identity reformation and the social contexts in which they occur. That is, how the identification process develops is more a function of an individual's referent group orientation than his or her personality characteristics. Erikson (1966), in discussing identity

development in general, confirms its dialectical nature. He explains that, invariably, identity formation has both individual and communal, conscious and unconscious, positive and negative, past and future, and inclusive and exclusive dimensions. According to him, identity is

> a matter of growth, both personal and communal. For a mature psychosocial identity presupposes a community of people whose traditional values become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them. Mere 'roles' which can be 'played' interchangeably are not sufficient; only an integration of roles which foster individual vitality within a vital trend in the existing or developing social order can support identities. (We may speak, then, of a complementarity of an inner synthesis of the individual and of role integration in his groups (Erikson, 1966; p. 231).

Erikson (1966; pp. 232-233) explains further that

> A 'sense of identity' obviously has conscious aspects, such as the experience of an increased unity of the physical and mental, moral and sensual selves, and of a oneness in the way one experiences oneself and the way others seem to experience us. But this process can also be visible to others, for he who 'knows where he is going and who is going with him' demonstrates an unmistatable, if not always easily definable, unity and radiance of appearance, physiognomic as well as postural. And yet, just when a person, to all appearances, seems to 'find himself he can also be said to be losing himself' in new tasks and affiliations.

Formative Models

Of the several proposals discussed here which offer some formative ideas about personal and/or social change processes which have implications for structuralizing ethnic identity development Wallace's is, by far, the most cogent. Wallace (1956; 1970) uses event analysis and anthropological perspectives to construct his theory of sociocultural change. He classifies cultural change processes into two major categories. Macrotemporal change is evolutionary in that it takes place over a long period of time. Microtemporal changes occur in very brief time spans, and

are described as "revitalization movements." Although the emphasis in this model is social change its major premises, especially those of microtemporal change, also are applicable to personal or individual change. According to Wallace, a "revitalization movement," or microtemporal change is

> a deliberate, organized, conscious effort of members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of cultural change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits. The classic processes of cultural change (evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, acculturation) all produce changes in cultures as systems; however, they do not depend on deliberate intent by members of a society, but rather on a gradual chain-reaction effect: introducing A induces change in B; changing B affects C; when C shifts, A is modified; this involves D . . . and so on ad infinitum. In revitalization movements however, A, B, C, D, E, . . . N are shifted into a new Gestalt abruptly and simultaneously in intent; and frequently within a few years the new plan is put into effect by participants in the movement (Wallace, 1956; p. 265).

The Black American cultural consciousness movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and the corollary changes in self-perceptions of the individuals who experienced these events meet all the criteria of Wallace's revitalization and they constitute microtemporal cultural changes. The processual structures of revitalization movements are, therefore, pertinent to discussions about ethnic identity development and cultural consciousness among Black Americans.

Wallace's (1956) revitalization process consists of five overlapping stages: Steady State; Period of Individual Stress; Period of Cultural Distortion; Period of Revitalization; and New Steady State. The Steady State is a period of shifting equilibrium in which gradual modifications of accepted techniques for satisfying individual and group needs take

place. These changes occur within an accepted range of tolerability embedded within the existing order of the cultural system. The Period of Increased Individual Stress happens when techniques individuals are accustomed to using to reduce stress and satisfy needs begin to decline in effectiveness. As this diminution increases, a point is reached at which some alternative beyond the existing tolerable limits must be considered. This consideration of techniques outside the "steady state" parameters is likely to "increase stress because it arouses anxiety over the possibility that the substitute way will be less effective than the original, and that it may also actively interfere with the execution of other ways" (Wallace, 1956; p. 269). In the 1960s when Black Americans and other ethnic minorities began to realize that passive, non-violent protests and legal mandates were not sufficient to eliminate racism and prevailing stereotypic beliefs about their ethnic groups, they had to consider alternative strategies to eliminate oppression, exploitation, and restricted citizenship. This signalled the onset of Wallace's second stage, Increased Individual Stress. Riots, declarations of pride in ethnic identity, and the adoptions of visible symbols of cultural heritage (such as body cosmetics, dress, insigna, and Black power rhetoric) were both inspiring and stressful to Afro Americans because new courses of action to deal with social reality were being charted. They were unorthodox in that few of these options were precedented.

The third stage of Wallace's model, the Period of Cultural Distortion, is a time of vacillation and oscillation. Some individuals attempt to re-establish the primacy of Steady State techniques and values. Others prefer to tolerate chronic stress and high levels of anxiety rather than make changes in the normative values and beliefs of the cultural system. Still

others attempt to effect limited changes in their own personal lives without making any corresponding changes in the cultural system. The cultural system itself is in turmoil because the many efforts to deal with stress and the reality that former techniques are no longer effective are mutually inconsistent and interfering. The simultaneous existence of ideologies and action agendas of separatists, integrationists, militancy proponents, and cultural consciousness advocates among Afro Americans in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s created strategic confusion and cultural disequilibrium in the American cultural system, thereby instituting Wallace's third stage.

The persistence of competing, incongruent strategies for stress reduction and need gratification within a cultural system may lead to wholescale disillusionment with the status quo, or prevailing cultural values and beliefs. When this happens individuals begin to realize that new norms must be constructed, and the cultural system must be revitalized with new priorities or goals. To complete stage four, the Period of Revitalization, the following functions are necessary: (1) the reformulation of normative codes for the cultural system; (2) communicating the new codes to existing and potential members of the system; (3) establishing new organizations, subsystems, and techniques for dealing with old problems; (4) modifying and refining the new codes, ideologies, and techniques; (5) cultural transformations or reductions of the personal deterioration symptoms of individual members of the cultural system; and (6) the institutionalization and routinization of the new values and codes. Once these steps are accomplished a New Steady State (Stage 5) emerges, and the cultural change process is completed. A cultural metamorphis, a transformation, a revitalization has occurred.

All of the steps of the period of revitalization were evident in the Black cultural consciousness movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Black Americans redefined the terms of their interactions with Anglos. These terms were communicated to each other through books, poems, plays, and various kinds of oratory. Procedural techniques for achieving ethnic respectability within the American system broadened to include means other than political and legal. Increasing attention was given to strengthening "the self" and achieving personal internalization of new values and codes, through sharpening one's cultural consciousness and crystallizing one's ethnic identity. Finally, the advocacy and employment of revised conceptions of Blackness, and its inherent strength, vitality and functionality, in socio-personal interactions have become routine and habitual.

Noel (1964) uses sociological perspectives and a referent group analyses to conceptualize group identification and self pride. He contends that group identification among Black Americans has both self hatred and self pride components. This approach is reminiscent of Erikson's (1966) idea that identity, invariably, has positive and negative elements. According to Noel, group identification or loyalty is prerequisite to any group's survival in a multi-group society. Since group identification is a multidimensional phenomenon, it is more reasonable to examine, separately, the various types of group self hatred and group pride, rather than to presume identification exists on a single continuum ranging from self hatred to self pride. To this end he identifies four types of group self hatred and four kinds of group self pride. Each of the types of self pride are multidimensional and intrinsically interrelated, while the various kinds of self hatred are unidimensional and independent.

The four types of group pride are ethnocentric, nationalistic, militant, and non-defensive. Ethnocentric pride is the tendency of group members to assert or defend the group, whether right or wrong, and to strongly identify with positive stereotypes of the group. Nationalistic pride is based on identification with the contemporary achievements of individual group members within the caste system. Militant pride is manifested through expressions of group identification centered around protest ideologies, organizations, and activities. Non-defensive group pride exists when individuals derive satisfaction from group membership without having to be ethnocentric or excessively defensive about their group.

Conversely, personal self hatred results when individuals internalize the negative attitudes and values directed toward their ethnic group by the dominant, majority group. Segmental group hatred occurs when individuals reject specific segments of the in-group, such as the lower class members. General group self hatred means rejection of the entire in-group, with the possible exception of self and one's own intimates. The fourth type of self hatred, defensiveness, is expressed as emphatic denial of any disadvantages to being a member of a particular ethnic group, and refusal to acknowledge any differences between one's own ethnic group and others.

Empirical research on two of Noel's types of group identification (militant group pride and general self hatred) suggests that attitude toward in-group membership is positively related to attitude toward out-groups. This finding "challenges the belief that the rejection of out-groups is an almost inevitable concomitant of in-group pride and suggests that an unequivocally positive ethnic identification can be functional for societal integration" (Noel, 1964; p. 83).

Glaser (in Williams, 1975; pp. 21-25) attempts to systematically account for orientations of minority and majority ethnics toward each other. He identifies three components of the interactional process, and four ways of relating between ethnic groups. The interactional components are ethnic ideology, associational preferences, and feelings aroused by ethnic contacts. Ethnic ideology refers to all the ideas and images used to assign attributes to a given ethnic group. It may vary from well developed, systematic thought about the superiority, inferiority, or equality of particular groups, to rather vague, imprecise, quasi-aesthetic opinions. Associational preferences are tendencies to avoid or to seek interactions with certain ethnic individuals, events, or groups. Feelings aroused by ethnic contacts may be hostility, fear, disgust, envy, affection, respect, vague uneasiness, or complete indifference.

Ethnic groups and individuals relate to each other in one of four ways. Segregating individuals see themselves as being distinctly unique from other members of society by virtue of their ethnicity. Marginal individuals are inconsistent and uncertain about their ethnicity. Ideologically, they may endorse ethnic pluralism, but, in the practice of their daily lives, they avoid any ethnic interactions that are not economically or socially expedient. This ambivalence often leads to feelings of guilt, shame, and anxiety. Desegregating individuals work diligently to disassociate themselves from ethnic identifications imposed upon them by others, or formerly held by themselves. They make a deliberate effort not to be associated or identified with their own ethnic in-group. By comparison, assimilating persons react to others on an individual basis, or non-ethnic categories (such as role functions), not by ethnic categories.

They are transcendent in their associational preferences.

Glaser believes these styles of ethnic interaction are arranged in an hierarchical order, with segregating at the bottom and assimilating at the top. He suggests, further, that for a person to move from segregating to assimilating interactions, the change must occur in a sequential order. One does not move from being desegregating to being assimilating without first going through the "marginal" phase, and then through "desegregating" behaviors.

Gordon (1971), using an historical perspective, argues that the process of achieving self-determination for previously colonized political communities is a developmental phenomenon with identifiable stages. If we accept the premise of some sociopolitical analysts that the exigencies of ethnic minorities in the United States constitute a state of colonization, then Gordon's model is instructive for systematically charting the psychological movement of these groups from colonization to liberation.

Gordon proposes four dialectically related stages in his model of decolonization, or the process of political maturation. The first stage is passivity. The colonized accept the ascriptions of inferiority, submission, stereotypes, and the disparaging views of their history and culture assigned them by the colonizers. Resentment characterizes the second stage of decolonization. In this stage the colonized

> begins to resent his inferior economic and social status; he rejects the colonizer's myths and he counters them with his own myths. He seeks to resume contact with his precolonial historical continuum, and he tends to emphasize the uniqueness and superiority of his own cultural heritage. He rejects any possibility of assimilation and emphasizes his 'otherness' (Gordon, 1971; p. 188).

The third stage is modernity. The colonized realize the material, if not spiritual, inferiority of their native culture, and begin a modernization process. This technological modernization is, unavoidably, accompanied by the adoption of certain of its associated values. It becomes clear to the colonized that if the maturing process is to continue some compromises between traditionalism and modernity must be made. In an attempt to resolve this dilemma, the colonized person

> rationalizes this acculturation by seeking antecedents for these 'modern' values in his own past; he tends to argue that in modernizing he is, in effect, being true to values and even institutions that have already been anticipated in his own past . . . But modernization is nonetheless, traumatic for him because he feels that his rationalization is not completely real; his confidence in his own heritage is shaken, and he fears that he is losing his cultural-rootings (Gordon, 1971; p. 189).

In the fourth stage, the colonized gains a universal perspective. The individual realizes that modernization or change is a universal need if cultures are to remain vital. The person is

> now able to accept his own culture for what it has been and is and to try to preserve that part of it which is compatible with modernity and of value both to himself and to civilization as such. He is now able to be critical of his past and to see the good and bad, the inspirational as well as the comic; he accepts his culture and at the same time is open to the experiences and the values of others. He has become ecumenical in his attitudes and ideally, he possesses a sense of identity that is culturally specific and at the same time he shares the universalistic ideal of the eighteen-century Enlightenment, that of the citizen of the world (Gordon, 1971; p. 189).

In their analysis of Black unrest as a social movement Sherif and Sherif (1970) also suggest that a dialectical relationship exists between individual metamorphasis and social change. They, too, endorse Erikson's premises that identity development includes historical as well as contemporary, individual and communal, and exclusive and inclusive dimensions.

According to Sherif and Sherif two processes are associated with the formulation of a new ethnic identity among Black Americans. One is the disassociation of Blacks from Anglo standards, institutions, and values which promote Black inferiority, and the repudiation of Anglos themselves as symbols and causes of the Black identity dilemma. In the second process Blacks turn toward non-white peoples and experiences in other parts of the world, especially Africa, for values, worldviews, and frames of reference for defining self to replace those they have rejected.

Gay's (1979) description of how ethnicity functions in the operations of attitudes and behaviors in childhood compared to early adolescence suggests the beginning of a maturational paradigm of ethnic identity formation. She alludes to two stages of development which correlate somewhat with maturation. The preconceptual stage coincides with childhood, and is a time when ethnicity is largely existential and subliminal. It does not operate in any deliberate or conscious ways to influence one's social attitudes or interactional behaviors. During early adolescence individuals begin to experience conscious confrontations with their ethnicity. These changes are signalled by the occurrence of varied ethnic initiation and demands which accentuate their ethnic identities and memberships. For example, ethnic communities begin to demand that youth act, think, believe and behave like ethnics. Now is the time for Black youth to understand what it means to be Black in a white world, and behave accordingly. Both the mainstream and Black cultural communities impose this mandate from their respective vantage points as to its meaning. For the first time in their lives Blacks begin to consciously understand what it means to be denied opportunities solely because they are Black. Some of these demands and indications are very traumatic,

and require a restructuring of personal conceptions of reality and senses of ethnic identity. Ethnicity becomes a conscious and deliberate factor in personal and social attitudes, values and behaviors.

None of the above models of identity development are conclusive. Yet, all include several major ideas which are essential to conceptualizing development paradigms of ethnic identification. All allude to the probable existence of higher and lower orders of ethnic identification, to the ethnic identity of individuals operating in conjunction with certain referent groups, and to the nature of one's interactions with ethnic others reflecting that person's own sense of self ethnic identification. The models of ethnic identity development suggested by Thomas, Cross, and Banks are different from these in that they form more definitive, systematic, and coherently organized ideas of how ethnic identity is transformed from negative to positive states of being.

Definitive Models

Thomas (1970; 1971), Cross (1971a; 1971b; 1976; 1978), and Banks (1977; 1981) have created models of identity development which deal explicitly, and in some detail, with ethnicity. Of the three, the Cross Model is, by far, the most elaborate and definitive. Although developed independently, there are several similarities among these models. Each, in its own way, accounts for identity metamorphasis; perceives ethnic identity transformation as a dialectical process; assumes that ethnic identity transformation is a liberating process which symbolizes a psychological healthier state of being; and uses a stage development model to account for the movement of individuals from negativism to

positivism in their self ethnic identities. Milliones (1973) and Gay (1982) have suggested some minor modifications in the Cross and Banks Models.

The Thomas Model emerges out of the belief that overcoming "Negromachy" is prerequisite to the realization and psychological liberation of Blacks, and that Black Americans pursue systematic processes to overcome this state of being. "Negromachy" is a form of psychological illness wherein Black self hood is ruled by confusion of self worth and dependency upon Anglo definitions of Black identity (Thomas and Thomas, 1971). Black Americans afflicted by Negromachy engage in self denigration and self denial, are compliciant and subserviant to dominant society's prescription of attitudes, values and behaviors, feel inferior to Anglos, experience repressed rage, and are overly sensitive to racial issues. Their need for approval drives them to "seek approval from whites in all activities, to use white expectations as the yardstick for determining what is good, desirable or necessary. Any indication of rejection by or hostility from whites results in these Afro-Americans changing their patterns of actions, even when the individual hurts himself and others of his people" (Thomas and Thomas, 1971; p. 104).

Negromachy is overcome, and identity transformation effected through a five-stage process. The first stage is <u>withdrawal</u>. To begin the process of redefinition and ultimate self-realization, Blacks must withdraw into themselves to develop awareness of a new Black ethic. During this withdrawal period a great deal of energy is devoted to "rapping on whitey," or belittling Anglos. Much of the rhetorical style and substance of the militant Black power and "Black is Beautiful" movements of the late 1960s

and early 1970s symbolized the withdrawal phase of ethnic identity information for Afro-Americans. This behavior has therapeutic values in the initial stages of becoming Black because it "allows one to have a self and for one's own behavior to enter the stream of Black consciousness. The interaction with brothers and sisters [fellow Blacks] becomes the foundation for changing the view of the world in which one lives and determines entry to, and mastery of future behavior" (Thomas and Thomas, 1971; p. 113).

Stage two is testifying. The person engages in confessionals and testimonies about the personal pain endured during Negromachy when he or she denied self as a Black person, the psychological struggles involved in becoming Black, and how it feels and what it means to be Black. Anxieties and tensions associated with the anticipation of living in a new sociopsychological context are also revealed. The person gets confused as to whether to burn down buildings and other symbols of the oppressive system, or to grab a gun and kill the oppressor. Many of the avante garde Black writers of the early 1970s, such as Nikki Giovanni, Sonya Sanchez, Don Lee, H. Rap Brown, and Elridge Cleaver epitomized Wallace's notion of testifying in their writings about the pain and promise, the pride and oppression associated with being Black within the American context. Although the writings of Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen and Claude McKay predate Wallace's conceptualization of stages of ethnic identification many of their selections provide graphic examples of the testifying stage. Illustrations of these are Langston Hughes' poems "Militant," "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" and "Still Here." Margaret Burroughs (in Simmons and Hutchinson, 1972; p. 40) presents a vivid

illustration of testifying in her poem, "Beautiful, Black and Beloved" wherein she appeals to

> Black Jesuses in steel mills and stock yards
> Black genuises sorting and carrying mail
> Black madonnas residing heavenwise . . . .

to recognize and praise their personal and collective beauty, and their cultural gifts to the world. She advises them to be proud of their ebony skin; the very crispness of their hair; the expressive fullness of their lips; the grace of their bodies; and their models of generosity, kindness, courage, endurance, and compassion which they have provided for others to emulate.

Information processing about the Black cultural heritage constitutes the third stage. The individual is preoccupied with learning about and broadcasting the historical experiences and contributions of Blacks from the perspective of both the African background and the American context. In many ways, Alex Haley's relentless search for his roots, and the subsequent publication of the sage Roots is a prototype illustration of ethnic information processing.

Stage four is activity. It is characterized by working with some organization or agency to find a linkage with the larger Black experience, such as voter registration drives, the Peace Corps, and marches against injustice. This communal commitment and participation merges individual liberation with group liberation. Thomas and Thomas (1971; p. 114) explain this interrelationship accordingly:

> To pursue those activities which are in response to a new awareness of oneself by giving of self to creative events that contribute to and gratify others in the group is to

serve a function far beyond survival of self. Action in keeping with one's talents is very important at this level of consciousness, since the vitality of Blackness requires ascertion.

The quality of the actions one engages in during this Activity stage are flavored by the levels of internalization of the new sense of Blackness. If one's Blackness is emergent his or her actions tend to be expressed primarily through aesthetic, emotional and rhetorical modes, and physical involvement in group [illegible]on efforts is kept to a minimal level. Once the new sense of self is internalized or incorporated individuals become less self-conscious about their blackness, more definite and realistic about life goals, employ more diversified responses to varied situations, and are capable of more rational self-evaluations, which result in a standard of self that is clearly and firmly established in one's consciousness (Thomas, 1971).

Thomas' fifth stage of development is transcendence. Martin Luther King's ideology and life are prototype illustrations of transcendence. At this stage of development the person loses his or her hang-ups about race, age, sex and social class, desist in defining self hood according to these categorical labels, and begin to see self as part of the universality of humankind in all its manifestations. The need for self imposed social isolation ends, and the person is ready to establish new relationship with people from different referent groups. These contracts are negotiated on the basis of the new found identity or self hood.

According to Cross the transformation of ethnic identity for Black Americans means "discovering the Black referent" (Cross, 1971a), and it is a conversion from being "Negro" to being "Black" (Cross, 1971b). It

is a dynamic, psychologically liberating process. This process involves a series of well defined stages, and can be understood best as that. To this end Cross has constructed a five stage model of "Psychological Nigrescence." "Nigrescence means the process of becoming Black" (Cross, 1978; p. 13). He recommends that this process be viewed as "the Afro-American model for self actualization under conditions of oppression" (1971b; p. 109). The five stages of the model are: Pre-encounter; Encounter; Immersion - Emersion; Internalization; and Internalization - Commitment.

During the Pre-encounter stage a person's identity and frames of reference are dominated by Euro-American norms and values. It is the time when the person is a "Negro" psychologically, in that he or she is captivated by white definitions and standards. This stage is somewhat analogous to Thomas' notion of "Negromachy," and Gordon's stage of "passivity." The individual thinks of the world as being non-Black or anti-Black. All things white are deified while anything Black is denigrated. Black history is distorted; extreme dependency on white leadership is prevalent; and the assimilation-integration model is thought to be the only desirable means for achieving cohesive race relations. This state of deracination transcends class distinctions among Blacks in that the world views which result from the idolization of Euro-American standards are the same for both the lower and middle classes. That is, "the content of the pre-liberation Black experience within the class system differs but the context is similar since both think, act and behave in a manner that degrades Blackness" (Cross, 1971b; p. 16). The identity dilemma and ultimate decision of the protagonist in James Weldon

Johnson's Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man (1927) to abandon his Black birthright and "pass" for white represents a graphic statement as to the psychological destruction that befalls those Afro-Americans trapped in the Pre-encounter stage of ethnic identification.

Pre-encounter Afro-Americans assume that developing an "American" identity precludes the existance of blackness. This development includes the

> affirmation of 'White-Anglo-Saxon Protestant' characteristics, and negation, dilution, or even denial of non-WASP behavior. As Western standards are inherently anti-Black, the cruel paradox of the assimilated Negro is that, in becoming a good American, he has also become anti-Black and Anti-American. The white man is viewed as intellectually superior and technically mystical. Negroes in the pre-encounter state tend to become enveloped in the white man's rhetoric, confusing his words for his deeds. Emphasis is on the individual seeking to get 'ahead;' the advancement of the race is gauged by how far 'I' progress in the system as opposed to how the system relates to the 'group' (Cross, 1971b; p. 16).

Encounter comprises the second stage of Cross' Model of psychological Nigrescence. The "encounter" is some experience or event -- real or vicarious, personal or social, verbal or visual -- that shatters a person's current feelings about self and ethnic group. Countee Cullen's poem, "Incident," in which he describes the impact of eight year old boy's first conscious experience with being called "Nigger" has on his sense of being (Hughes and Bontemps, 1970; p. 232) symbolizes the proverbial "encounter" for many Afro-Americans. Margaret Walker gives another example of encountering identity dynamics in her poem, "We Have Been Believers,"

wherein she says, in part,

> And in the white gods of a new land we have been believers believing in the mercy of our masters and the beauty of our brothers, believing in the conjure of the humble and the faithful and the pure . . .
> We have been believers believing in our burdens and our demi-gods too long . . . (In Hughes and Bontemps, 1970; pp. 312-313).

The salient feature of the encounter experience is that it dislodges the person from his or her preliberation world-views and senses of identity. It creates the necessity for the individual to consider alternative interpretations of reality as he or she pursues a diligent search for a new ethnic identity. In fact, this means for Blacks Americans the denigrating identity described to them by ethnic others must be cast aside and a new perception of their ethnicity constructed. Both experiencing the shocking event and initial efforts to reinterpret the world as a consequence of the event are part of the encounter stage. In this sense, this stage of Cross' model bears some similarities to Wallace's periods of Increased Individual Stress and Cultural Distortion as well as Sherif's and Sherif's concepts of disassociation from Anglos and affiliation with non-whites. It is synonymous to what Gay describes as a conscious confrontation with one's ethnicity.

The third stage, Immersions - Emersion, "encompasses the most sensational aspects of Black identity development, the vortex of psychological metamorphasis, the period of transition in which the struggle to destroy all vestiges of the 'old' perspective occurs simultaneously with an equally intense concern to clarify the personal implications of

the 'new' frame of reference" (Cross, 1978; p. 17). This stage is somewhat reminiscent of Thomas' withdrawal, Testifying and Information Processing stages, as well as Wallace's Period of Revitalization, Noel's Ethnocentric group pride, Glaser's Segregating identification state, and Gordon's stage of Resentment.

Immersion - Emersion identity behaviors are characterized by high levels of egocentric and ethnocentric ethnic affiliation, ideology and associational preferences. There is a strong tendency to denigrate everything white and to deify everything Black. In the search for bases on which to construct a new sense of identity, the individual withdraws from everything representing the white world and the Anglo-Saxon ideology, turns inward, and immerses himself into the Black historical and cultural heritage. This immersion is symbolized in speech, dress, reading preferences, ideologies, and interpersonal associations. Hence, the "Africamania" of the late 1960s and early 1970s (including adoption of African names; preferences for African music; studying Swahili; wearing insignas such as African continent shaped pendants and other jewelry employing the Black liberation colors of red, black and green; and travelling to the Motherland to reaffirm cultural roots) suggests the operational presence of immersion processes in ethnic identity transformation. Expressively, the emphasis of human behavior is praising all things Black as being, unquestionably, beautiful. Much ethnic testifying (including the verbal, visual and symbolic) and self praising occurs during this stage. Fenton Johnson's poem, "Tired," where he says "I am tired of building up somebody else's civilization" (In Hughes and Bontemps, 1970; p. 88) captures part of the flavor of the immersion stage. Nikki

Giovanni's symbolic testimonial in "Ego Tripping" to the origins and development of Black culture worldwide is an even more vivid portrayal of the salient features of this stage of ethnic identity development. In part, she says "I am so hip even my errors are correct . . ," and adds that

> I am so perfect so divine so etheral so surreal
> I cannot be comprehended
> except by my permission" (Giovanni, 1973; p. 5)

wherein the intrusive "I" symbolizes Black culture and heritage.

Therefore, Immersion stage of ethnic identity is a "strong, powerful dominating sensation constantly being energized by Black rage, guilt, and . . . a developing sense of pride" (Cross, 1971b; p. 18), and a compelling defiance of any and all suggestions of ideational or cultural subordination to Anglo Americans. Habitually, for the ethnically immersed Afro American

> Confrontation, bluntness, directness, and an either/or mentality are the primary if not the only basis for communication with people, Black or white. The much discussed 'Blacker than thou' syndrome intoxicates the minds of many people at this juncture . . . the person is concerned that his Blackness be pure or acceptable . . .
>
> Rhetorically, the person shifts preference from individualism to mutualism or collectivism. A constant theme of selflessness, dedication and commitment is evident; the person feels overwhelming attachment to all Black surrourdings. His main focus in life becomes this feeling of 'togetherness and soul' (Cross, 1971b; p. 20).

The second part of the Immersion - Emersion stage is signaled by a "leveling off" of the immersion tendencies. Rampant ethnocentricism, psychological defensiveness and extremist efforts to effect ethnic purification are replaced by more dispassionate, objective, critical analyses of self ethnic group experiences. White people are rehumanized and Black rage is tempered with reason. The person begins to incorporate selected facets of the Black experience into his or her identity profile, begins to think about actions for group liberation, and develops a feeling of greater self control. Individuals are less motivated by the need to purge self of all things Anglo-Saxon, total separation from the white oppressors, and for proving to the world the authenticity of their blackness than by a desire to completely resolve the identity dilemma for themselves and to become totally integrated ethnic beings.

When self control and awareness, psychological openness, and critical analysis predominate in attitudes and behaviors, the person has progressed to stage four, Internalization. During this stage the individual experiences inner security; self confidence in one's Blackness permeates interpersonal transactions; conflicts between old and new world views are resolved; the transformed identity is incorporated into one's entire personal and interactional decorum; and the individual begins to embrace pluralistic and universalistic perspectives. As the new-found identity is internalized a shift in "being," is effected.

> The shift is from concern about how your friends see you ... to confidence in one's personal standards of Blackness; from uncontrolled rage toward white people to controlled, felt and conscious anger toward opporessive and racist institutions; from symbolic rhetoric to quiet, dedicated, long-term

> commitment; from unrealistic urgency to a sense of destiny; from anxious, insecure, rigid, inferiority feelings to Black pride, self-love and a deep sense of Black communalism. (Cross, 1971b; p. 23).

In the fifth stage, Internalization - Commitment, the person begins to live in accordance with his or her new self-image and reconstructed ethnic identity. Nigrescence or psychological liberation is realized. The key factor distinguishing Stage 5 from Stage 4 is a commitment to action. The person engages in activities that are meaningful to the liberation of the group. He or she is empathetic and compassionate toward others who have not completed the identity transformation process. In many ways the last stage of Cross' model, Thomas' fourth stage (activity), Gordon's concept of universality, and Wallace's New Steady State are of a similar order in the identity transformation process.

Because of difficulties he experienced, especially with the Encounter Stage, in efforts to empirically test the validity of the Cross Model Milliones (1973) made some minor modifications in the model. After using four biographical and autobiographical prototypes of individuals prominent in the Black Power Movement to establish face validity of the Cross Model he decided to recast the stages into what might be called a Four-Stage Milliones Model. Rather than being substantively different, Milliones uses somewhat different language to label the Cross stages and restructures the categorical descriptions into what he considers a more empirically plausible arrangement. These reordered stages of ethnic identity transformation are:

- Preconscious Stage -- which includes individuals who are not yet engaged in the identity conversion process. They are either extremely

antagonistic toward, or tend to glorify, the explotation of Blacks. They exhibit a high degree of nadanolitization, or the internalization of white racial stereotypes of Blacks.

- Confrontation Stage -- describes individuals who have begun the conversion process, dichotomize black-white attitudes such that Black related experiences are glorified while Whites are denigrated, espouse militant rhetoric, and are generally emotionally intense in their reactions to racial issues.

- Internalization Stage -- characterizes individuals who have begun to incorporate positive values of Blackness into their identity profiles, and have begun to diminish anti-white sentiments. For them, "Black is Beautiful" becomes an end in itself.

- Integration Stage -- describes individuals who have incorporated Black consciousness into their identities and are committed to engage in actions to eradicate the oppression and the dehumanization of Blacks as a group.

Operating independently of both Thomas and Cross, and attempting to account for the development of ethnicity without reference to any particular group, Banks (1977; 1981) constructed a six-stage typology of ethnicity. Two major beliefs guide the conceptual arrangement of the typology: (1) a positive self ethnic identity is prerequisite to effective functioning in a pluralistic society and world; and (2) that ethnically pluralistic competency is a desirable attribute for everyone to have. Banks proposes his typology as a diagnostic tool for identifying the myriad and emerging ethnic identities among teachers and students, and as a set of preliminary criteria to stimulate research and guide teaching goals about ethnicity.

Stage one of the typology is Ethnic Psychological Captivity. Individuals in this stage inculcate negative ideologies and beliefs about their ethnic group; express ethnic shame, self-rejection, and low self-esteem; avoid interactions with other ethnic groups; and strive aggressively to become culturally assimilated. It is that sense of being which has been captured in the Uncle Tom, Steppin Fetchit and Aunt Jemina caricatures of the subservient Black who forsakes all semblances of self definition and ethnic assertion to accommodate the most denigrating Anglo perceptions of who and what Blacks are.

Stage two, Ethnic Encapsulation, is characterized by ethnic exclusiveness, including voluntary separation. It is analogous to the Withdrawal and Testifying stages of the Thomas Model, the Encounter stage of the Cross Model and the Confrontation stage of the Milliones Model. Individuals who are ethnically encapsulated

> tend to have highly ambivalent feelings toward their own ethnic group and try to confirm, for themselves, that they are proud of their ethnic heritage and culture. Consequently, strong and verbal rejection of out groups usually take place. Out groups are regarded as enemies, racists, and in extreme manifestations of this stage, are viewed as planning genocidal efforts to destroy their ethnic group. The individual's sense of ethnic peoplehood is escalated and highly exaggerated. The individual ... tends to strongly reject members of his or her ethnic group who are regarded as assimilationist oriented, liberals, who do not endorse the rhetoric of separatism, or who openly socialize with members of outside groups, especially with members of a different racial group (Banks, 1981; p. 131).

In stage three, the individual is able to clarify his or her ethnic attitudes and identity, reduce intra-psychic conflicts about ethnicity, develop self-acceptance and genuine ethnic pride, be critical of self ethnic group, and relate constructively with other ethnic groups. For these reasons, this stage is called Ethnic Identity Clarification. Roger Wilkin's A Man's Life (1982) is a powerful chronicle of an individual evaluation from the point of self denial and ethnic denigration to self pride and acceptance and personal integration. The book ends with Wilkin's having achieved ethnic clarification. The descriptive traits of this stage of development are similar in kind and quality to the Internalization Stage suggested by Cross and Milliones, and the Information Processing Stage described by Thomas.

Stages four, five and six of the Banks typology describe varying degrees of the ability of individuals to relate to and function in ethnic contexts other than their own. Stage four, Biethnicity, represents a person who has a healthy sense of ethnic identity and the psychological skills to participate in at least one ethnic culture other than one's own. Stage five persons possess traits of Multiethnicity and Reflective Nationalism. These individuals are able to appreciate beyond superficial levels different ethnic ideologies, and are able to function in several different ethnic cultures. They also have a "commitment to their ethnic group, an empathy and concern for other ethnic groups, and a strong but reflective commitment and allegiance to the nation state and its idealized values, such as human dignity and justice" (Banks, 1981; p. 133). Stage six is Globalism and Global Competency. An individual in this stage has "the ideal delicate balance of ethnic, national, and global identifications,

commitments, literacy, and behaviors ... , has internalized the universalistic ethnical values and principles of humankind and has the skills, competencies, and commitments to take action within the world to actualize his or her values and commitments" (Banks, 1981; pp. 133-134).

The person in Banks' stage six sounds very much like the one who achieves Transcendence (Stage 5) in the Thomas Model and Universality in Gordon's process of decolonization. Although qualitively different from the last stages of the Cross and Milliones Models, it is symbolically equivalent. Globalism symbolizes the culmination of the developmental process from ethnic closedness to ethnic openness in Banks Model as do Internalization - Commitment and Integration signal the completion of the psychological liberating and identity transformation process from ascribed identity to self definition in the Cross and Milliones Models.

Gay (1982) attempts to combine the elements of Banks and Cross Models into a configuration that will be more useful to classroom teachers, and that will show parallels between ethnic identity development and other developmental theories (e.g., mental, moral, and social) of human growth. Without making any substantive changes in the descriptions of the stages of the two models, she collapses these into a three-stage paragidm. Her Pre-Encounter and Encounter Stages are identical to Cross' and have features of Banks' Psychological Captivity and Ethnic Encapsulation, respectively. The Post-Encounter Stage encompasses Immersion - Emersion, Internalization and Internalization - Commitment of the Cross Model, and Ethnic Clarification of the Banks Model. It suggests further that once completed, individuals have the psychological dispositions and ethnic

consciousness necessary to be biethnic, multiethnic, and/or globalistic in their ethnic relations if they so choose. Gay summarizes the developmental distinctions between these three ways of being ethnic accordingly:

> Whereas the overriding human behaviors of the pre-encounter stage are characterized by non-questioning conformity to externally determined roles and identities, those of the encounter stage are characterized by feelings of emotional turmoil and psychological traumas, the predominent behavioral motivations of the post-encounter stage are self-determined ethnic identities, ethnic objectivity and rationality, and a genuine acceptance of the right to be ethnically different. Cognitively and psychologically, individuals are now predisposed to combat oppressive and exploitative practices in society, to fully appreciate alternative cultures and life styles, and to promote actively the principles of ethnic and cultural pluralism. (Gay, 1982; p. 74).

Conclusions

Each of the conceptual models of ethnic identity development supports the pedagogical principle of readiness. The idea that individuals in different phases of ethnic identity development possess and respond, in qualitatively different ways, to myriad perceptions, expectations and interactions relative to their own and others ethnicity permeates each model. The notion that positive self ethnic identity is a dynamic process which occurs in the context of interactions between the self and varied sociocultural systems is quite consistent with the concept of readiness. So is the idea that as individuals effect the reformation of identity they become increasingly more capable of negotiating diversified and differentiated, analytical and critical, open and empathetic transactions with themselves, with their own ethnic group members, and with other ethnic groups.

Another pedagogical idea imbedded in the concept of readiness and implied by stages of ethnic identification development is the notion of congruity or compatibility in instructional planning and implementation. For educators to maximize the effectiveness of their efforts with ethnic youth, the "what" and "how" of curriculum and instruction must be agreeable with the students attitudinal and emotional dispositions, as well as their intellectual capabilities. That is, both curriculum content and classroom pedagogy must be cognizant of and responsive to the stages of ethnic identification development of the recepient students. It is senseless to think that students who are trapped in pre-encounter and psychological captivity mentalities can develop positive self ethnic concepts without first exercising these self denigrating values and attitudes. Likewise, students who are ethnically encapsulated or immersed are not likely to be very receptive and gratitious toward ethnic others. Instead, because they are preoccupied with creating a new basis out of which to fashion a different ethnic identity - e.g., trying to rebuild a shattered ethnic reality -, it makes more sense for educators to design their intervention strategies with those realities in mind. Therefore, the best help educators can give to encountering,immersed,and/or encapulated ethnic students is exposure to accurate resources and authentic experiences about their own ethnic cultures and heritages. Developing respect for and appreciation of ethnics other than one's own are more compatible with the post-encounter and ethnic clarification stages.

The models of ethnic identity development discussed here also endorse the basic premises of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. As individuals become more psychologically secure in their ethnic identity and their sense of

belonging stabilizes they are better able to respect and relate to the ethnicity of others, and to engage in other pursuits of achievement with better quality and greater chances of success. If this pattern prevails generally, it seems reasonable that it would apply to schooling as well. The psychological liberation and identity transformation which result from the ethnic identity development process are prerequisite to maximizing ethnic students' performance in schools. This should apply irregardless of the nature of the performance, whether it is academic competency, social skills, personal survival strategies or interpersonal relations in cross-cultural and inter-ethnic group contact situations.

Many theories about and efforts in inter-racial contacts, inter-group relations, and multicultural education are based on the belief that self awareness and acceptance are prerequisites to understanding, accepting, appreciating, and relating to others. Various models of ethnic identity development, especially the Cross and Banks Models, endorse this idea. In these conceptualizations of ethnic identity development an individual is able to engage in constructive interactions with ethnic others only after he or she has acquired a positive self ethnic identity. This developmental process is, in effect, a statement about psychological readiness for intra- and inter-ethnic group interactions.

While the evidence on stages of ethnic identity development is not totally conclusive, it is highly suggestive. The Cross Model has been validated by at least eight different empirical studies. The Banks Model has been used in two studies. All agree that one's sense of ethnic identity results from a dialectical, multistage developmental process,

and that as one traverses these stages his or her self perceptions become more positive and efferescent, referent groups expand, and the willingness to interact with others, both within and outside one's own ethnic group becomes more rational and flexible.

Even though stages within the models need further definitional clarification, and their validity need more testing with a variety of ethnic groups, in a variety of situations and circumstances, some noteworthy implications of the models of ethnic identity development are emerging. Educators need to increasingly use ethnicity variables to diagnose student needs, guide curriculum decision making, to select instructional materials, and to determine when students are ready for what kinds of learning experiences relative to ethnic and cultural pluralism. Educational experiences should be deliberately designed to help students better process whatever ethnic identity stage they are in at any given point, and to assist them in moving from one stage to another. Teachers must be in the advanced stages of ethnic consciousness for them to work effectively with students in less advanced stages. It is rather unlikely that a teacher in Stage II (Encounter) of the Cross Model or Stage I (psychological captivity) of the Banks Model can be successful in ethnically pluralistic classrooms, or do an adequate job of teaching multicultural education. Diagnosing students' readiness and then acting upon these diagnoses, are imperative for effective educational programming. Similarly, ethnicity is an essential variable in determining the readiness profiles of students. Therefore, it is essential for all educators to use some scale of ethnicity to determine

the developmental readiness -- the receptivity index -- of students. In the absence of this, instructional efforts toward achieving quality education for Black youth and congeniality among all ethnically diverse groups and individuals in a multiethnic society such as the United States will be far less effective than they might be otherwise.

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